"The Jívaro, (Chiwaro, Siwaro, Jibaro, Givari, Xivari, Chivari, Givaro, Zibaro, Jivara, Hibaro, Jivira etc.) --not to be confused with the Cahuapanan-speaking Chebero of the lower Huallaga River or the Hibitoan-speaking Hibito--comprise a linguistically isolated group in the Montaña of Ecuador north of the Marañón River (map 1, No. 1; map 9). There were fromerly three, possibly four, main divisions: the Jívaro proper, the Malacata, the Palta and perhaps the now extinct Bracamoro. The Palta, aboriginally a Highland type tribe, has been assimilated into the Quechua-speaking population of Highland Ecuador, and is described by Murra in the Handbook, Volume 2, page 801.

The Jívaro proper are typical of the Montaña except in emphasis. They have little that is directly traceable to the Highland. They practice the rain forest type of farming, hunting, and fishing, but once kept a few llamas and guinea pigs. The principal weapons were formerly the bow and arrow, which were later superceded by the blowgun, spear and atlatl. Men's dress is typical of the Montaña; womens' robes pinned over the shoulder may be of Andean origin. Canoes, baskets, and ceramics are of Tropical Forest types but men's weaving on a vertical loom is unique in the region. The extended, patrilineal family occupying a single large house is a Montaña feature, especially of the late post-Contact period. [618]But Jívaro preoccupation with warfare is an extreme development of a pattern common to neighboring tribes, and the shrunken head complex, though not unique, is outstanding in its importance and persistence. Crisis rites are distinctive

only in the boys' and girls' feast or tobacco ceremony, and in disposal of the dead in hollow logs placed inside houses. The shamanistic complex includes the concept of spirit helpers and magic 'darts' as the cause of disease.

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The Jívaro proper probably now occupy the same territory that they held in aboriginal times (lat. 2° -5° S., long. 77° -79° W., map 5). There are four principal divisions, each split into innumerable communities or jivarías, named after rivers: (1) the Antipa, on the right bank of the Santiago River from the Zamora to the Alto Marañón River; (2) the Aguaruna, on the right bank of the Marañón between the Nieve and Apaga Rivers (lat. 5° S., long. 78° W.); (3) Huambiza, on the right bank of the Morona and Mangosia Rivers and the left bank of the Santiago River from the Cordillera of Cuticu to the Marañón; and (4) the Achuale (Achuare), between the Pastaza and Morona Rivers, from Lake Puralina to Andoas (Stirling, 1938; pp. 2-4).

The Palta and Malacata were probably Jívaro living in the Highland near Loja (lat. 4° S., long. 79° W.) and speaking closely related languages Rel. geogr. Indias, 1881-97, 3:213). For their Jivaro affiliations, Verneau and Rivet (1912-22, p. 37) cite Benavente's expedition (Rel. geogr. Indias, 1881-97, 4: 30). Benavente crossed the Paute and Minas de Santa Barbola Rivers, the latter probably a tributary of the former, and entered what

was presumed to be Jívaro territory, where the Indians spoke the same language as the Malacata.

The Bracamoro (Pacamuru, 'tailed Indians') were the Jívaro of the Zamoro River, but the name was also applied to Indians of unknown speech in the region of Jaén de los Bracamoros.

Many attempts have been made to conquer the Jívaro because of the placer gold in their territory but none succeeded. Two Inca Emperors, Topa Inca and his son, Huayna Capac, both failed to subdue either the Jívaro or the Bracamoro. The latter, who were nearest Spanish posts in the Highland were, however, conquered in 1542 and the city of Jaén founded in 1549. The same year, the Benavente expedition visited the Jívaro proper. Trips by Juan de Salinas, beginning in 1557, led to the founding of several colonies, but the Jívaro destroyed them in 1599. The Bracamoro subsequently disappeared from the literature, probably having been assimilated, but the Jívaro proper retained their independence. During the next century, military and missionary conquests failed. It was not until 1767 that the Jesuits gained a foothold among the Jívaro, but they were expelled the same year, and the Franciscans carried on the work from 1790 to 1803. Missionizing subsequently became mainly a subterfuge for treasure seeking until 1850, when it was resumed with greater sincerity. The Jesuits returned in 1869 but there was an uprising in 1873 and the Jesuits were again expelled in 1886. The remainder of the

century brought [619] more travelers, missionaries, and military expeditions, but none had a lasting influence. During the present century, Protestant missionaries have entered the field. But the Jívaro remain unsubdued and only partially acculturated, though many speak Quechua. They showed aggression against the Whites as late as 1915, 1925, and 1928 (Stirling, 1938, pp. 3-28).

POPULATION

On the basis of a partial census of 1580, Stirling (1938; pp. 36-37) placed the aboriginal population at about 30,000. Modern estimates range from Rivet's 20,000 and Karsten's 15,000 to 20,000 to Tessmann's 10,000 to 12,000.

SOURCES

The Jívaro have probably received more attention than any other South American tribe; the scientific literature on them is enormous. Nevertheless, many aspects of Jívaro culture are imperfectly known.

Old missionary and explorers' accounts contain only fragments of information. (See p. 511 and Stirling, 1938, for a bibliography of these.) Ethnological studies tend to treat only limited aspects of the culture or to reflect strong theoretical views of the authors. Karsten's many publications, which are summarized in his comprehensive work (1935), were based on 3 years of field work, though he only twice spent more than 8 days in a single village. His theoretical interest in religion is very manifest, and it is

frequently impossible to distinguish his own or his informant's views from his first-hand observations. Nonetheless, it is the main source on social and religious culture. Rivet's studies are compilations of older sources; he never visited the Jívaro. Up de Graf's (1923) work is designed for popular appeal. Tessmann (1930) adds only a few fragments of information from an Aguaruna informant. Stirling (1938) is the first to recognize the importance of change in the historic period; he also adds new detailed data on blowguns, perparation of shrunken heads, shamanism, weaving, and warfare.

Present needs include adequate studies of technology (which are now only partially available), clarification of social structure and function and of marriage practice through a genealocical approach, verification of the patterns of religion and shamanism, analysis of property rights, and study of agricultural methods. There is also abundant opportunity for investigation of local variations in this large and widely distributed tribe.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

Jívaro crops of the 16th century were 'seeds' maize, and a root, doubtless manioc. Fish, deer, tapir, wild fruits, cacao, nuts, and curassow supplemented the diet. Recently, however, the Jívaro have eaten neither deer nor tapir, fearing the spirits in them. [620]

FARMING. --Present-century crops appear in table 1 (p. 516). They are cultivated with much ritual (Karsten, 1935) in fields located around the communities. Nonfood crops include cotton, tobacco, mycot, natima, bixa, and barbasco (Stirling, 1938).
AGRICULTURAL RITES. --Karsten (1920 a, 1935) reports certain agricultural rites of the Jívaro. When planting manioc to be consumed during a tobacco feast in her honor, a woman and her companions squat near the cuttings and chant an incantation. Then they address Nungui, the Earth Goddess, who is symbolized by a stone of curious shape. The first manioc cutting is painted red, and the woman to be honored places it against her groin. Each woman who plants the cuttings sits on a manioc tuber. After the field has been planted, a ceremonial digging stick is stuck into the ground and the people pray to Nungui.

The female owner of a field may not paint herself with genipa, or wear a bracelet around the forearm.

When planting banana trees, men observe various tabooes and pray to Shakaema, the husband of the Earth Goddess.

For 5 successive nights after planting their fields, Jívaro women dance and chant, asking the Earth Goddess to make their manioc grow. They also practice a magic ceremony to expel rodents which attack the crops. Tubers gnawed by these rodents are covered

with ashes and thrown into the forest. The people chant an incantation, requesting the rats not to harm the young plants.

HUNTING AND FISHING. --Aboriginal hunting weapons were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the atlatl. The blowgun has replaced the bow for hunting small game; and spears, thrown without the aid of the atlatl, are used for large game. Firearms are becoming more general (Stirling, 1938). Other devices include deadfalls, spring noose traps, and pitfalls with stakes in their bottoms (Tessmann, 1930). Stirling describes a communal peccary hunt carried on with the aid of dogs; the game is speared from trees or is driven into the water and pursued in canoes. Karsten (1935) gives no data on hunting methods but describes magic: Pepper is put in the eyes of hunters and their dogs to improve their vision; men take tobacco and paint their bodies red for strength; they do the same to their dogs; they keep animal trophies to insure future success; dogs are prevented from eating the bones of game; many charms are used; and hunting dogs are subjected to an elaborate ceremony involving manioc planting, fasting, drinking guayusa, and feasting.

Fish are caught by hand, drugged with barbasco and Clibadium, speared, harpooned, and taken with hooks, with traps placed under rapids, and with both hand nets and large casting nets. The antiquity of the hook is uncertain; bone hooks preceded iron. The Aguaruna catch fish ascending creeks in weirs (Villanueva, 1902-03, 13:79). [621]

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS. --The aboriginal Jívaro were unusual among Montaña

tribes in keeping a few llama and guinea pigs. It is doubtful whether the dog was native. Chickens and pigs were introduced by the Spaniards and, according to Karsten, were sacrificed in many ceremonies.

FOOD PREPARATION. --Food is ground on a flat wooden slab and in a mortar. It is seasoned with capsicum pepper and with both a natural and a prepared salt.

HOUSES AND COMMUNITIES

The Jívaro community is and always has consisted of a single large house (jivaría), usually located for defense on a steep hill at the head of some stream. It is moved at least every 6 years as new farm land is needed.

The house is elliptical, about 40 feet (13 m.) by 80 feet (26 m.) and has a thatched, gabled roof supported by interior posts and a side wall 8 to 10 feet (2.4 to 3 m.) high, made of strong, closely-spaced staves so as to be impervious to attack (pl. 60, bottom). One end of the house is occupied by men, the other by women. Furniture comprises sleeping platforms (fig. 91), storage platforms, hooks, and footstools. The Aguaruna were ascribed palm-fiber hammocks (Villanueva, 1902-03, 13: 81).

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Prior to missionary influence, nakedness was common although two garments seem to have been native: a wrap-around skirt for men (pl. 62, top, right) and a full-length robe

for women. The latter is pinned over the right shoulder, the left shoulder remaining bare (pl. 62, bottom, right). These clothes are generally of brown cotton, but poor people may dress in bark cloth (Stirling, 1938). Some individuals also use ponchos (Tessmann, 1930). [622]

A variety of fashions of coiffure are shown by Stirling (1938, pls. 3-10). Ornaments include fur and feather headdresses, ear pins, women's lower lip labrets, tatto, red bixa and black (genipa) paint applied with a roller stamp, blackened teeth, wrist and leg bands, and elaborate bead collars and chest bands. Status and other special badges include hunters' ornaments made of tayo bird femora, warriors' girdles with human hair attached, face paint, head rings, and women's upper arm bands.

TRANSPORTATION

Goods are transported in hexagonally-woven baskets held by tumplines. Babies are carried in bands (pl. 60, top, left).

Dugout canoes of some size and excellence seem to be aboriginal, but they have never been adequately described.

MANUFACTURES

BASKETRY. --Hexagonally-woven carrying baskets and mats are mentioned, but basketry techniques have not been analyzed.

SPINNING AND WEAVING. --Men do all spinning, weaving, and knitting. Astrocaryum

fibers are used to knit bags with an eyed needle and to make fish nets. Cultivated cotton is spun with a kind of drop spindle, the cotton being fed from an elevated container. Belts and clothing are woven on a nearly vertical loom set in a frame. The warp is wrapped continuously around the upper and lower bars, producing a cylindrical piece of cloth. Women color textiles with brown vegetable dyes (Stirling, 1938).

POTTERY. --Women are potters. They use a coil technique (pl. 62) and make cooking vessels, bowls, and large chicha jars. Some vessels have incised zigzag decorations. Others are fired, then colored red with copal (Stirling, 1938) or urucú (Tessmann, 1930; Karsten, 1935) (pl. 52, h). Some bowl interiors are decorated with white geometric designs representing mythical figures. Aguaruna bowl interiors are painted red-and-black-on-white and are varnished with carafia. Some bowls have rattling pebbles inside a double bottom.

SKIN WORK. --Several fur products are made, including head bands and bags. Preparation of shrunken heads (p. 625) also involves techniques of skin and hair preservation.

METALLURGY. --The Jívaro have remained very indifferent to the considerable placer gold in their territory. Of Highland metal objects, they acquired only a few copper axes.

FIRE MAKING. --Fire is made with the drill and activated with a feather fan.

WEAPONS. --Weapons of warfare reported in 1540 were lances and round shields; in

1571, spears, spear throwers, round shields of tapir hide and wood, and copper axes; and, in 1582, throwing spears, thrusting [623] lances, and stones (for slings?). The bow and arrow and spear were used in 1582 for hunting.

During the late 17th century, the bow and spear thrower were abandoned, and the blowgun and hand-thrown spear became the principal hunting weapons. In the present century, blowguns, spears (pl. 62), and firearms are used for hunting. Spears are often tipped with iron, but heads of human bone or chonta palm wood are preferred, the latter for their magical potency. The shield is now made of hide or of a single piece of wood to resemble three concentric, superimposed circular slabs.

SOCIOPOLITICAL GROUPS

The sociopolitical unit from pre-Columbian times to the present day has been the household, which formerly consisted of 80 to 300 persons and occupied a single dwelling (jivaría), but today has only 30 to 40 persons. Each house stands in a more or less isolated, defendable site, one-half to several leagues from its neighbor.

The group occupying the jivaría is described as patrilineal, but no analysis of its composition or structure is available. Karsten's assertion (1935) that, after a period of matrilocal residence, a newly married couple established its own house scarcely fits the picture of a patrilineal household which would require ultimate residence in the groom's father's house.

Each community is independent, having its own headman, but a half a dozen friendly

jivarías may unite temporarily for warfare. After the 16th-century rebellions against the encomenderos, large numbers of jivarías formed alliances against the Spaniards.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILDBIRTH. --Jívaro women know vegetable abortives. During child birth, a mother is isolated lest she contaminate other people. Afterward, both parents are subjected to food taboos and to various restrictions on their activities in order to protect the infant, but the father does not remain in bed. Unlike many neighboring tribes, the Jívaro do not kill one of twins. They practice infanticide only on deformed babies (Karsten, 1920 a).

PUBERTY. --Tessmann (1930) denies that the Jívaro have menstrual observances, but Karsten (1920 a, pp. 13-28) describes measures to protect menstruating women from spirits which seek to make her pregnant and a tobacco ceremony designed to give a girl strength after her first menses and to reinvigorate an older woman. The ceremony begins with a crop fertility ceremony and the slaughter of specially raised pigs and chickens, after which the girl takes tobacco juice to cause vomiting and to produce visions. He also describes a feast to initiate boys into manhood (Karsten, 1935, pp. 237-242), but there appears to be no secret cult. [624]

MARRIAGE. --A man may marry his cross-cousin and his sister's daughter (Karsten,

1935, p. 186). Polygyny is common, especially because of high male mortality in warfare. Stirling describes marriage by purchase, often of pre-pubescent girls (1938), but Karsten states that bride service to the girl's father is given during several years of matrilocal residence in lieu of a price. The levirate is required.

DEATH. --Archeology indicates some former urn burial in Jívaro territory (Stirling, 1938), though recently only the Aguaruna have practiced this method (Tessmann, 1930). In the historic period, an ordinary person was placed in a hollow-log coffin in a special hut; a chief's coffin was left in his dwelling, which was abandoned. The deceased was supplied with food and drink for 2 years, at the end of which he was supposed to become an animal or bird (Stirling, 1938). Some children, however, were buried in urns, and occasionally adults were given earth burial (Karsten, 1935, p. 460). Among all Jívaro, missionary influence has made earth burial more frequent.

WARFARE

The Jívaro differ from other Montaña tribes neither in the causes, methods, nor weapons of warfare but in their extreme zeal for war. Excited to rebellion during their 16th-century reduction on Spanish encomiendas, the Jívaro became formidable foes who have never been truly conquered to the present day. But their more absorbing military efforts have always been directed toward other Jívaro communities. The desire to avenge the death of members of their own household or to retaliate against imagined sorcery, to-

together with social prestige attached to military success, has, despite intervillage kinship bonds, pitted communities against one another in unending reprisals. Peace, concluded through the ceremony of burying the lance, may readily be broken by serving formal notice on the foe. The chronic danger of attack accounts for the elaborate rites by which peaceful visitors must approach and be received into a village.

Warfare is directed by a special chief of considerable though temporary authority. It begins with a dance of excitation while a shaman drinking cayapi invokes supernatural assistance. The aggressors attempt a surprise attack, using spears but never blowguns. Around their village the defenders have placed lances and firearms, both automatically released by bent poles, and barricades, pitfalls, and trenches filled with sharp stakes. If worsted, the villagers call for help with their signal drums and barricade themselves in their houses, shootipg through loop holes. The victors shrink the heads taken from their foe and go home to celebrate a victory dance. The shrunken heads are proof that the ancestors have been avenged.

SHRUNKEN HEADS. --Shrunken heads (tsantsas) are now most typical of but not peculiar to the Jívaro (pl. 63). The skin is cut and removed from the skull, the lips are everted and pinned or sewed together, and the whole head skin is boiled with a plant which somewhat shrinks it and fixes the hair. It is further reduced by placing hot stones and

sand inside it; then it is smoked, polished, and kept in a jar. When victim's heads cannot be taken, sloth or other animal tsantsas may be substituted.

Many fraudulent shrunken heads, made from unclaimed dead in city morgues, are on the market and in museums. They generally lack one or more of the following characteristics of genuine Jívaro tsantsas: Lips sewn or pinned, the forehead compressed laterally, nostrils dilated, all facial hair except eyebrows removed (mustaches frequently reveal falsified tsantsas), the skin smoked-blackened and polished, and little ornamentation except the lip threads. The Jívaro, moreover, never preserve the whole body. (See Stirling, 1938)

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

ART. --The principal Jívaro art products are carved spear handles, feathered head ornaments, and mythological paintings on pots and other objects.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. --Jívaro musical instruments include: Hollow-log signal drums used singly (fig. 92; pl. 62); two-headed skin drums played both by dancers and by shamans; transverse and longitudinal flutes; musical bows; snail-shell trumpets; and jangles of shell and other materials attached to belts and leg bands. The Aguaruna make primitive two-string violins in imitation of Spanish models. Panpipes are merely children's toys.

DRINKS AND NARCOTICS. --Chicha is made by fermenting manioc and other plants.

Narcotics include tobacco, cayapi, Datura, and guayusa. Tobacco, the most important, was formerly taken only for magical purposes but is now generally smoked for enjoyment. Karsten (1935) describes the use of tobacco in boys' initiation rites, in women's tobacco ceremonies, in curing, in general magic, and in vision seeking. It is smoked as cigars, or else the juice is drunk or blown up the nose. Placed in the eye, it is thought to counteract bad dreams; painted on the body, it gives protection.[626]

Cayapi is used by shamans or by people wishing to contact ghosts or to provoke divinatory visions.

Datura is drunk or taken as an enema through a straw by warriors desiring to gain power and to foretell the future.

Guayusa is a purgative and emetic and is believed to give strength.

SHAMANISM

The Jívaro shaman seems to have a greater variety of functions than his colleague among other Montaña tribes, though the incomparably richer material on the Jívaro (Stirling, 1938) may be responsible for this impression. He assists in warfare, makes rain, manufactures love potions, gives miscellaneous advice when under the influence of guayusa, causes disease, and cures illness by both herbal and supernatural means.

A neophyte shaman is instructed for 1 month, dieting for 5 days and taking five drugs,

including tobacco juice, cayapi, and three others, one of which may be Datura. He learns to control several disease-causing spirits: the spirit of the blowgun; the ray fish, most dangerous of all; snakes; a doorlike spirit causing barrenness; the woodpecker and toucan, which cause stomach trouble; the night bird, which brings various ills; and insects, which cause skin troubles.

To cause sickness, a shaman blows one of the spirits he controls into his victim by means of tobacco smoke (Stirling, 1938) or, with the aid of his spirits, he sends a magical 'thorn' or 'dart' (Tessmann, 1930; Karsten, 1935) into him. A water monster may also cause illness. To cure, a shaman sings, plays his drum, takes Datura, tobacco, and cayapi, and sucks out the 'thorn.' Shamans may also reveal the identity of a sorcerer. Some shamans may turn into jaguars to attack people.

RELIGION

Jívaro religion is based on the concept of a supernatural essence (tsarutama) that gives power to both objects and spirits. This essence is in the Rain God, who inhabits mountain peaks, in various animals including the Anaconda God, who lives in rapids, in demons, in the sun, the moon, the earth mother (whose importance is repeatedly stressed by Karsten), and, among plants, especially manifest in the chonta palm. It is in many fetishes, such as shrunken heads, fur balls taken from animal stomachs, certain brown stones, seeds, and jaguar teeth (Stirling, 1938). Though feared, these various spirits

and demons are the object of no organized cults. The supereme God, Cumbanama, is remote and has no interest in human affairs.

Karsten mentions an ancestor cult, which seems to be linked with ideas of reincarnation. Recorded beliefs about life after death, however, are too varied and conflicting to reveal a clear pattern of ancestor wor-[627]ship. Souls of warriors become, according to the qualities of the deceased man, either ferocious animals, such as jaguars, or inocuous animals, and children become birds. Shamans turn into dangerous monkeys, bears and deer (Stirling, 1938). Karsten also describes a belief in transmigration of souls to plants as well as to animals. Potential danger from one's ancestors motivates vengeance of their death, but it is not clear that they are propitiated to procure their direct intervention in worldly affairs. No formal ancestor cult with secret initiation, like that of the Tucano tribes, is indicated.

There is some hint of a guardian spirit concept in Karsten's statement (1935) that animals, birds, and other spirits seen under the influence of narcotics help the dreamer in various ways. These spirits, called the 'old ones,' seem to have some connection with the concept of reincarnation.

• Karsten describes five ceremonies which employ magic. These, mentioned above, are the victory celebration and the ceremonies for the benefit of children, young men, women,

and dogs. It is curious that pigs and chickens, both post-Columbian elements, have a prominent role in these rites.

MYTHOLOGY

Despite the continued vitality of Jívaro culture, mythology is being forgotten.

The creation myth recounts that Cupara (Compadre?) and his wife were parents of the Sun. They created Sun's wife, Moon, of mud. Among the children of the Sun and Moon were Manioc and various animals, including the Sloth, which was the first Jívaro. Ensuing adventures of the parents and children account for a large portion of Jívaro culture (Stirling, 1938).

The myth of the star brothers is very similar to the Tupí tale of twins. A jaguar killed his Jívaro wife, but his mother secretly reared his two sons, who became stars. When adults, they killed the jaguar to avenge their mother then returned to the sky by means of an arrow chain (Karsten, 1935, pp. 523-526). Other tales recount the flood, the theft of fire by Hummingbird, and the acquisition of salt, potter's clay, and pumpkins (Karsten, 1935).

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